THE MILITANT

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Republican Revolution in Spain

Ill. Miners' Convention

As this issue appears, the rank and file miners' movement against the treacherous reunion of the Lewis and Fishwick cliques in the United Mine Workers of America will come to a head at a convention in St. Louis to determine the course the miners shall pursue. The movement which has as its chief driving power the desire of the miners to cut loose from the domination of the reactionary union skates, has already won the support of some of the most militant section of the Illinois mine fields, of the new independent union in West Virginia, and of sections of the coal territory in Ohio, Indiana and Kansas. Betrayed, traduced, used by their leaders as pawns in dickers with the coal operators, suffering the intense misery from the effects of the general crisis added to the specific crisis in the coal industry—the most militant elements among the miners are overcoming the spirit of demoralizing and despair. It is these elements who are at present most active in the work of laying the foundation stones for a new union movement, based on the class struggle, able and willing to defend the interests of the miners, free from the bureaucratic and reactionary incubus that has destroyed the once powerful union of the American mine workers.

The Unity of Fishwick and Lewis

The revival of the militant spirit so characteristic of the miners comes at the end of a more than one year dispute between two sections of the labor officialdom—the International office headed by John L. Lewis and the Illinois district, which split away last year and established an autonomous union under the leadership of such discredited touts of the coal operators as Fishwick, John H. Walker. This entirely unprincipled dispute came to a conclusion "by court order", but in reality because the union had been sapped to such an extent that the diminished resources available to both groups of the officialdom compelled them to seek refuge in each other's arms.

Over night, Fishwick, who had denounced Lewis for every crime in the decalogue ,returned to the fold of this same Lewis who, in his turn, had been working tongue and pen with might and main to prove that Fishwick and his associates were scoundrels of the deepest dye. The sudden reconciliation, however, did not result in bringing the miners' rank and file docilely under the domination of the reunited skates. Throughout Illinois, the outraged miners not only refused to pay dues to the Lewis machine but expressed strong sentiments for cutting loose from the hulk to which the U. M. W. A. has been reduced, and establishing in its place a new union. In West Virginia, a notorious scab field because of the deliberate sabotage of organization work by the Lewis clique, the new union movement has already assumed distinct form and embraces, according to various reports, from 7,000 to 9,000 members. In Kansas, for many years a stamping ground for militancy, the same sentiment prevails. To a lesser extent, Indiana and Ohio have echoed the aspirations of the Illinois miners.

The convention to be held in St. Louis on April 15, 1931 is the rallying point for this sentiment. The circumstances and auspices surrounding its convocation furnish an illuminating comment on the relationship of forces in the mine field. The prime movers officially in the fore for this convention are the "progressives" associated with the C. P. L. A., the Muste group. Keenly aware of the spirit of revolt spreading among the miners, these professional dampeners of working class militancy, yesterday's open and concealed adjutants of Fishwick and Co., have taken advantage of the absence of any substantial and genuinely militant leadership capable of opposing Lewisism and have sought to ride the wave of sound rank and file revolt. With yesterday's loyal agents of the Fishwick apparatus like Wm. Daech and similars, joined with the professional "progressives" of Hapgood, Brophy, Stevenson and Co., who collapsed and left the miners in the lurch at every decisive moment, and continuing to use Alex Howat, who followed Fishwick and Co. to use his reputation of bygone militancy as bait with which to entice the miners into the reactionary net—with this agglomeration of pseudo and quasi-progressives the Muste group is seeking to establish its domination of the new movement and perform its assigned function of keeping it from "going red."

The Blunders of Stalinism

That the Muste group of reformists has thus far succeeded in a measure to put itself at the head of the rank and file movement is eloquent testimony to the decrepit state of the Communist movement, particularly in the Illinois mine fields, and to the virtually complete disappearance of the National Miners Union in that state. With the cruelest effect, yesterday's blunders of the Stalinists have come home to roost. The bankruptcies and defeats of yesterday burden the revolutionary movement just at this particular moment, when the possibilities for a revival and consolidation are especially favorable. Yet, with the miners (above all, in Illinois) rapidly experiencing a disillusionment with the two gangs of labor leaders and ready for a new movement, the appeals of the National Miners Union are failing on deaf ears.

That is how the rank and file miners are repaying Stalinism for the stupidities and crimes of the past: for the bureaucratic, arbitrary, supercilious régime in the Left wing union which repelled those workers who sought in it a democratic instrument for advancing their interests; for the irresponsible, adventurist, ill-begotten "strike" of last year, called without con-

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Penn. Sedition Act Seeks Victims

With the conviction of comrade Bill Lawrence, active militant of the Communist party in Philadelphia, who was tried, found "guilty" and sentenced last week under the notorious Flynn Anti-Sedition act of Pennsylvania, the cases of other workers arrested in that state under the same law assume particular significance. In addition to a number of members of the Communist party indicted under the act, there are two Philadelphia members of the Communist League of America (Opposition), Leon Goodman and Bernard Morgenstern, against whom the court has just returned a true bill, with their trial to come up in short order.

It is clear that particularly throughout Pennsylvania, the ruling class is pursuing a deliberate policy of picking off one militant after another, prosecuting them quietly and dispatching them to years of imprisonment for the crime of fighting the battle of labor. As usual, this vicious campaign is being directed in the first place against the vanguard fighters of the working class, the Communists, with the aim of intimidating labor as a whole and hampering its struggle against the wage-cutting and standards-lowering offensive of the bosses. It is on this basis, and in the general interests of working class solidarity, that every worker and labor organization must assemble their strength of fight back the capitalist prosecutors and defend the class war prisoners.

Morgenstern and Goodman were arrested in Philadelphia for distributing the leaflet on unemployment issued by the Communist League, together with a circular urging workers to attend the unemployment demonstration organized on February 25th by the Communist party and the Left wing movement. On the basis of the declaration in the League leaflet that only the socialist revolution can finally solve the ills of the working class, the arrests were made and the indictment set forth against the two militants.

The International Labor Defense, which its Stalinist commissars have sought to convert into one of their factional appendages, at first refused to take up the case of these two workers. At the united front conference held a few weeks ago, delegates from the Philadelphia branch of our League were unseated in the presence of the I. L. D. national secretary, Engdahl. It was only after protests from a number of workers and branches of the I. L. D., to which we refer elsewhere in this issue that the Philadelphia local of the latter organization agreed to take up the "legal defense" of Morgenstern and Goodman, which meant not to make a class fight in their case. To make clear their position and the position of the League, the two comrades have sent the following letter to the Philadelphia I. L. D.

"Comrades:

"The recent conviction of comrade Bill Lawrence and others under the Flynn Anti-Sedition Act must not be allowed to pass without the creation of the broadest possible protest movement. These cases, and others of a similar nature, are of the same type as the case of the undersigned. Taken together, they indicate that the ruling class is engaged in a brutal attack upon the vanguard section of the labor movement which must be repulsed by all the strength at our command.

"Up to now, the I. L. D. contrary to its long established policy, has refused to give us anything but 'legal defense', which means to destroy the class significance of the whole fight. We earnestly believe this procedure to be a profound error calculated to injure the fight against the Flynn Act. In this connection, and bearing in mind the general campaign being made against all militants—a campaign which endangers the whole movement, we make the following proposals to the I. L. D. for its immediate consideration:

1. "A united front conference, called and organized on the broadest possible basis, should be held immediately for the purpose of drawing every labor organization into a compact body for the struggle against the Flynn Act, for the release of those already convicted under it, and for the defense of those who, like ourselves, are threatened by conviction.

2. "To conduct a widespread agitational campaign for all the workers at present involved under the Flynn Act on a working class basis, so that the class significance of the arrests, trials and convictions may be brought home to the labor movement. A purely 'legal defense', such as is proposed in our case, is not only entirely inadequate but fit solely for a 'liberal' defense movement—certainly not for a class defense organization like the I. L. D.

3. "To organize a mass meeting immediately to protest the conviction of comrade Lawrence, and to bring to popular working class attention the danger of similar convictions confronting other workers already arrested. We propose that one of the undersigned defendants in the case appear at this meeting as one of the speakers.

"These steps are proposed as preliminary to a systematic and extensive fight against the Flynn Act and the persecutions that take place under it. We make these proposals only because we are actuated by the most earnest desire to achieve the greatest possible unity of the militant movement to rally the workers in a fight against our common enemy. Our political affiliation to the Communist League (Opposition), while it differs from that of other workers in the I. L. D., impels us to seek the closest and most loyal collaboration with the workers' defense organization. We therefore anxiously await your reply to our proposals.

"Fraternally yours,

Leon Goodman.

Bernard Morgenstern"

Alfonso has quit the soil of Spain and the bourgeois republicans, assisted by their socialist allies, have proclaimed the republic. The universal acclaim with which the departure of the royal family was met by the people furnishes eloquent testimony to the profound unpopularity of the monarchy. In the proclamation of the republic, the Spanish masses have taken their first big step in breaking with the old régime and towards establishing their own rule tomorrow.

But the bloodless victory of the republican-socialist alliance over the Spanish monarch guarantees neither the radical uprooting of monarchical rule, the establishment of the republic, nor the real people's régime of tomorrow. The essential evils with which the reign of the Bourbons inflicted the people still remain. More, the republican bourgeoisie, even with the servile aid of the social democrats, is incapable of solving any of the tasks which press with such burning urgency for solution.

The Spanish bourgeoisie now in power is bound by a thousand threads to the old monarchical system and the semi-feudal relationships on the land. In its turn, the monarchy is intimately intertwined, in its essence as well as in the person of Alfonso himself, to the prevailing mode of capitalist exploitation. Proceeding from both of them are the ties with the reactionary clergy, the big landowners, the military cliques, all of which form the chain that has, and still does fetter the emancipation of the people, of the workers and the peasants upon whose misery the strength of the ruling class has been built.

Bourgeois and monarch—those two are infinitely closer to each other than they are to the proletariat and the peasantry. As has happened before in history, and in Spain's history as well, these two ruling forces will find no great difficulty in being reconciled in the face of an independent insurrectionary proletariat and peasantry. The monarchy is not at a definite end in Spain. Alfonso is far from having given up the expectation to return. In his declaration, he has proclaimed that he does not "renounce any of my rights . . . I am waiting to learn the real expression of the collective opinion of my people". The bourgeoisie, which proved its capacity to unload the king under pressure of the masses and out of fear of itself being unloaded, is equally capable of effecting a reconciliation with the Bourbons under the pressure of other circumstances.

Can the new republican socialist combination rule, or shall we have in Spain a repetition of the abortive republic of 1873? That depends upon a number of indefinite factors, primarily upon the next stages in the development of the proletarian movement. What is already quite clear is the attitude of the new rulers towards the working class which assisted it to power. With the reactionary fury that characterizes every exploiting class that has just come to power —even though by revolution—it has already turned upon that section of the working class which has been first to manifest its class independence. In Barcelona, center of working class ferment, the rulers of the "Catalonian republic" crowned only the day before, have proclaimed martial law against the workers, killed two of them, and suppressed the 24-hours general strike. How instructive is the violence with which the "revolutionary republicans" attack the "revolution in permanence"!

The Barcelona movement is only an initial skirmish. The proletariat of Spain will yet have adequate opportunities to produce its revolutionary Communist party and to place itself at the head of the popular nation. The powerlessness of the bourgeoisie to solve the problems of the Spanish people will be a source of strength to the real revolution. Alcala Zamora, the provisional president, and the government itself, have already announced the program of the new government, and it is filled with the empty promises with which the bourgeoisie always feeds the masses. "The republic will guarantee

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EDITORIAL NOTES

A DANGEROUS SITUATION

The unfortunate results of the dress strike were guaranteed in advance by the policy of the leadership and were easy to foresee. The Left wing union, already segregated in respect of shop organization, to a small corner of the industry. did not succeed in appreciably widening the area of its control. A few hundred workers—more or less—added to the union rolls out of the tens of thousands in the trade cannot be represented to anybody as a victory. And even these slight gains in membership—which we have no reason to dispute—are more than counter-balanced by the loss of Left wing prestige which derives inevitably from the whole miserable affair.

Under the blows of the united reaction on the one side, and of criminal misleadership on the other, the Left wing in the needle trades finds itself today in an extremely critical position. The spiritless manner with which the most loyal militants went through the strike in which they had no faith, the lost confidence of the masses which the strike figures tell with cruel emphasis. are stern warnings of a dangerous situation; a situation which has within it the possibilities of a real catastrophe.

In that treacherous manner which is characteristic of all opportunists, Lovestone-Zimmerman are seizing the occasion to sow panic and demoralization in the Left wing ranks. They are coming out in the open now with their program for the liquidation of the struggle of the Left wing union. They are trying to set into motion a wild stampede back into the camp of Schlesinger.

We warn the Left wing workers against this panic propaganda. And in doing so we have no need to conceal the desperate position of the Industrial Union. That is incontestable. Nor can we doubt that on its present course the Industrial Union is moving, with accelerated speed, toward liquidation—in fact. if not by formal decision. We must recognize that the Left wing union stands now at a point where the odds are unquestionably against it. The weight of the combined reaction presses down heavily upon it, and the leadership of the bureaucratic incompetents supports the reaction, from the Left. But the issue has not yet come to the decisive settlement. The time has not arrived to haul down the banner of the Industrial Union. That cry is the cry of panic-stricken traitors.

Two or three thousand members organized in the Industrial Union, surrounded yet in spite of all by the warm sympathy of tens of thousands of workers in the industry, represent a power out of all proportion to the numerical relation. What they need is a correct policy and a leadership worthy of the name. The need to put their own house in order. If they will do this in time, and only on that condition, they can yet regain the lost positions and conquer new ones. Let the liquidators of the Lovestone camp desert the ship which they think is sinking. The task of the day for the revolutionary fighters is to fix the leaks and keep it afloat.

"COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALISM"

The new pamphlet, "Communism and Syndicalism", seems to have hit its mark. It has already gained a fairly wide distribution and has enriched the life of the radical labor movement with a fresh and animated discussion of fundamental questions of principle. **Industrial Solidarity,** the official organ of the I. W. W., devotes four columns in its April issue to a review of the pamphlet. And this fact alone bears eloquent testimony to the profound interest which comrade Trotsky's masterful presentation of the Marxist position on the trade union question has aroused within the ranks of the syndicalistic workers.

The Stalin faction in charge of the official party has been attempting to settle the dispute between syndicalism and Communism in the gutter of gang fights. In this they have only succeeded in compromising Communism and playing the game of the reactionary elements at the head of the I. W. W., whose position depends on an atmosphere of confusion, prejudice and unreasoning hostility. The publication of the new pamphlet has served to elevate the question again to the level of ideological struggle.—the plane upon which Marx fought Bakunin, and Lenin fought the Economists. The Opposition demonstrates in this question also that it is the real heir of the great teachers.

The unsigned review in **Industrial Solidarity** is written in the spirit of the editor, John Gahan—a petty-bourgeois phrasemonger of the Sandgren stripe—and that is to say it is written from a reactionary standpoint. It begins, in the heading, with a reference to Trotsky as the "author of the Kronstadt massacre" and implies thereby a solidarity with the ill-fated attempt at counter-revolutionary overthrow engineered in 2921 through the medium of the Kronstadt sailors. And this implication goes over to direct expression of the idea in the statement, "the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', which is an instrument of oppression."

The reviewer protests against our reference. in the introduction to the pamphlet, to the "denegeration" which has taken place in the leading circles of the I. W. W. since the war. But how could degeneration, from a proletarian and revolutionary point of view, be more forcibly expressed and demonstrated than by such an attitude toward the Russian revolution? Of the two great camps into which the world was divided, and remains divided, by the Bolshevik revolution—those who are for it and those who are against it—the reviewer takes his place with the latter. And it is not simply a question of "some other country" in which narrow-minded philistines profess a lack of interest. We have here only an advance notice of how the logic of false conception will work out at home. It should not be lost on those who still retain the idea of a workers' revolution in America.

The outspoken opponents of Communism and the Stalinist bureaucrats who distort its meaning and soil its banner have some things in common, despite the noisy and indecent brawl which passes for the "intellectual" struggle between them. Gahan and Co. agree with Foster, Inc. that a club over the skull is more effective than an idea directed to the brain. And in this review they take another leaf from the Foster book and allow themselves just a little misrepresentation. They accuse the writer of the introduction to "Communism and Syndicalism" of saying, "The party is the unified minority group of intellectuals to guide, advise and lead the trade unions." No, we never said that because we don't think that. We believe with Marx and Lenin that the party is the vanguard of the proletariat, the organization of the class-conscious and revolutionary workingmen.

We do not think of the party as a special body of "intellectuals". This idea is falsely imputed to us by the pseudo-intellectuals of anarcho-syndicalism. The whole argument against a proletarian party rests on this shaky foundation. Misrepresentation of the issue and an appeal to prejudice are the sole weapons of the bankrupt leaders of reactionary syndicalism, of Gahan and similars.

It is a miserable armament and cannot stand a real contest. What is needed for such a contest is simply an able presentation of the Marxist position. Comrade Trotsky has made this presentation, from all sides and with incomparable clarity and logic. in his pamphlet. "Communism and Syndicalism". It will make its way.

LYING AS A POLITICAL SYSTEM

An article in the **Daily Worker** of March 17th contains the statement that, in the summer of 1930, the opposition "made overtures to the Lovestoneites on the basis of work within the Muste movement and against the Communist party." At the outset it will be seen that there is something wrong here. We have been told so often and so long ago about the unity of the opposition with the Right wing, that the allegation now of mere "overtures" for such a bloc, and only in the summer of 1930 at that, comes like an anti-climax. The first rule for people who bear false witness is that all must tell the same story. The Stalinist Hessians of the Pen, who are in the business, ought to remember that in the future.

However, this discrepancy is bridged over by some brand new testimony which reveals "details" of the great conspiracy just discovered by the Foster G. P. U. "In the summer of 1930," they say, "conversations were held between Cannon and Lovestone. The purpose of these parleys was to work out a common base of struggle." In this statement there is no truth whatever, and no semblance of truth. It is a lie made out of the whole cloth in order to bolster up a position which has been politically exploded. The Opposition made no "overtures" and held no "conversations" with Lovestone. And that is not because we reject the idea of talking to political opponents, but because to the leaders of this petty-bourgeois faction we have nothing more to say. The last "conversation" we held with them was at the Plenum in the latter part of 1928 when our expulsion from the party was confirmed. What we said on that occasion was printed in the **Militant,** and our remarks were addressed equally to them and to the Fosterites who stood united with them on the same reactionary plaltform. We did not have to invent that "alliance". It was open and public and all the world could see it. And it didn't happen by accident. It is to cover up the fact of this alliance that Foster concocts the fiction of the bloc of the Right and the Left and invents "conversations" to support it. Or is there also another reason? All signs indicate the reconstitution of the bloc of the Right and the Center in the Russian party. Is the article of March 17th a part of the camouflage to conceal the preparations for it in America?

If the latter is the case—and the assumption is not without foundation—they are proceeding with it in a characteristic manner. The Centrist bueraucracy reflects the pressure of alien classes upon the movement of the revolutionary proletariat. As such it stands in contradiction to the historic interests of the movement and its existence depends upon systematic deception. Driven by an uncontrollable impulse, they must and they do lie automatically, as a man afflicted with the tic must twitch the muscles of his face.

The struggle for existence also in politics sets its conditions for all forms of life. The bureaucrats of Centrism could not live politically without saying one thing and doing another. And they follow this course with an increasing ease and proficiency as the contradictions and difficulties of their position multiply. An example is the recently proclaimed campaign "against exaggeration", which was immediately followed—as was to be expected—by a veritable flood of bigger and better lies, chiefly against the Opposition. How could it be otherwise? For what purpose would they promise truth except to make falsehood appear more credible?

It is quite obvious that moral indignation is without avail in such a situation. We are confronted here with social and political phenomena which must be appraised objectively and scientifically. In the interests of the proletarian movement we explain and also refute the lies of the bureaucrats. But we cannot and we do not promise to refute them all. The volume is too great for a semi-monthly paper to cope with. One cannot bring down a flock of quail with a rifle.

The best we can do is to single out and refute some of the characteristic instances of this game of falsification, enough to expose the whole system. In spite of all limitations the International Opposition has managed to do this. The notorious affair of the "Wrangel officer" was such a case. "The alliance with Coolidge and the Austrian Government" was another. The "bloc of the Right and the Left"—embellished lately with cooked-up disclosures about "overtures" and "conversations in the summer of 1930"—is a third. All the rest follow the same pattern.

THE OPPOSITIONISTS AT THE MAY DAY CONFERENCE

The delegates to the May Day Conference from the New York branch of the Communist League gave a practical demontration of the actual policy of the Opposition. It was not lost on the Communist workers present; of this we may be sure. The action of representatives of the Opposition, in disregarding all provocation and breaking through the bureaucratic barriers to speak directly to the rank and file for solidarity. is one to be proud of and to set up as a model for Oppositionist conduct. This is the way to carry our ideas deeper into the party.

Our policy is the policy of united front with the party. Several hundred Communist workers, assembled at the May Day Conference saw it exemplified there in deed and heard it expounded in the speeches of our delegates. Let the Stalinist disrupters of the workers' vanguard slander and misrepresent us all they want. If we keep our own line straight, and if we find enough comrades who can represent it as faithfully as our May Day Conference delegates did, our slogans and ideas will make their way into the minds and hearts of the conscious proletarians.

A friendly reception was accorded to our delegates by the workers present, despite the atempts to incite a lynching spirit against them. Applause, even. greeted their exposition of our policy. These are signs of the times. Do they not indicate the beginning of a break in the wall between the Opposition and the party ranks?

The results of this incident confirm once more the rightness of our attitude toward the party from which opportunists and middle-heads have tried and still try to divert us. Every new experience proves over again that those who want to turn the course of the Opposition away from the party, who complain about being "a tail to the party", do not speak our language and are not going our way.

We are with the party. and no one can tear us away from it. But to be with the party in the revolutionary, and not merely in the formal sense, means to be against the Centrist bureaucrats, who corrupt and miseducate it, with an irreconcilability that grows harder and more relentless as we draw nearer to the workers in the ranks. Our delegates to the May Day Conference acted in this spirit and thereby advanced our cause another step forward.

—J. P. C.

MAY DAY MEETING IN CLEVELAND

Comrade John Brahtin will speak at the May Day affair of the German Workers Educational Society at 4308 Franklin Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio, on May 2nd, at 7:30 p. m. Other speakers will also address the assembly on the significance of the international workingmen's holiday. All are invited.

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THE SUCCESSES OF THE DANGERS OF
SOCIALISM AND ADVENTURISM

By LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from the Last Issue)

Pravda itself (October 27) is compelled to observe:

"We are experiencing difficulties in the supply of food and industrial commodities for current use.

"We are still experiencing a great shortage of metal, of coal. of electrical energy and of building materials for the full assurance of the rhythms undertaken in the socialist construction.

"The transportation of industrial and agricultural products is far from being assured by our transport service.

"National economy is experiencing a pressing shortage of factory hands and of cadres of skilled workers".

Does it not flow from all this that the passage from the five to the four year plan was a flatly adventurist step? For everybody. except **Pravda.** "The delay in fundamental construction in 1929-1930," writes **Pravda, "in spite of the absence of objective causes,** was a pretext for the agents of the Kulaks in the party—the Right wing opportunists—to raise new howls on the subject of the intolerable rhythms adopted by the party." (November 3, 1930.) In this way the Stalinists are. better than anyone could, clearing the ground for the Right wing by reducing their divergences with it to this dilemma: four or five years? However. this question can be decided not in a "principled" manner but only empirically. In this dispute, which is measured by a difference of twelve months, it is still difficult to define two distinct lines. Yet this bureaucratic manner of posing the question gives us the exact measure of the divergences between the Right and the Centrists in the evaluation of the Centrists themselves. The relations between them is as four to five, which makes a twenty percent difference. And what will happen in case experience should show that the plan will not come to be realized in four years? Would that mean that the Right wing is correct?

Between the second and the third years the socalled supplementary trimester (October, November, December 1930) was inserted. The third year of the five year plan now begins officially on January 1, 1931. without taking into account this supplementary trimester. The divergence with the Right wing is thus reduced from twenty to fifteen percent. What purpose do these worthless methods of procedure serve? They serve the purpose of "prestige", but not of socialism.

The gaps that they are compelled to stuff up with the supplementary trimester came into being, according to **Pravda.** "in spite of the absence of objective causes'.' This is a very consoling explanation but it replaces neither the uncompleted factories nor the unmanufactured commodities. The misfortune is that the subjective factors like "incompetence", "the absence of initiative", etc., are governed by the subjective element, that is, by the bureaucratic apparatus, only **to a certain extent,** and beyond these limits the subjective factors become objective fetters snice they are determined in the last analysis by the level of technique and of culture. Finally, even the "gaps" which are actually engendered by subjective causes, for example. by the myopia of the "general" leadership, also become obejctive fetters since they are depossibilities of further development. If opportunism is characterized by a passive adaption to objective conditions ("chvostism"), adventurism. which is the antipode of opportunism, is characterized by its wanton and disdainful attitude towards the objective factors. The leitmotiv of the Soviet press today is: "Nothing is impossible for a Russian"

The articles of **Pravda** (Stalin himself remains prudently silent) prove that foresight. collective experience, flexibility in economic direction, will, in the future as in the past. be replaced by the "general" knout. **Pravda** recognizes, in a series of cases, that "faltering was liquidated less by production than by the revolutionary pressure of the masses" (November 1). The meaning of this avowal is quite clear.

It is obvious that if it were really a question of outstripping in the course of the coming two or three years the advanced capitalist countries and in this way to assure the invulnerability of socialist economy, then a temporary pressure, no matter how heavy it might be for the muscles and nerves of the workers, would be comprehensible and even justified. We have seen above with how much ambiguity, deceit and demagogy this question is presented before the workers. The uninterrupted play on the nerves threatens to provoke a reaction in the masses incomparably graver than that of the end of the civil war. This danger is all the more acute and menacing since not only will the problem of "catching up with and outstripping" not be solved, even admitting that the five year plan is completely realized, but the plan itself will never be realized in four years, in spite of the extreme extension of forces. What is still more serious is that the adventurism of the leadership renders the realization of the plan in five years less and less likely. The stupid and blind obstinacy of maintaining the plan intact and to the letter in the name of the "general" prestige, makes inevitable a whole series of crises, which can retard the economic development and unleash an open political crisis.

THE U. S. S. R. AND THE WORLD MARKET

Thus the summary results of the production increase, unusual in its sweep, do not trace the real picture of the situation. for they do not characterize the economically and politically unfavorable conditions in which the third year of the five year plan began (October 1. 1930). A more concrete economic analysis shows that the arbitrary statistics of the successes hide a series of profound contradictions: (a) between the city and country (the price scissors: the lack of food products and raw materials; the lack of industrial commodities in the country); (b) between heavy and light industry (enterprises not supplied with raw materials and the shortage of commodities); (c) between the real and the nominal purchasing capacity of the tchervonetz (inflation); (d) between the party and the working class; (e) between the apparatus and the party; (f) within the apparatus.

But aside from these socalled internal contradictions, there is a contradiction which, by the logic of things, acquire an ever greater significance: the contradiction between Soviet economy and the foreign market.

The reactionary utopia of an enclosed socialist economy developing harmoniously on the internal foundations with the safeguarding of the monopoly of foreign trade. constituted the point of departure of the whole plan. The specialists of the State Planning Commission, willingly running counter to the "bosses" and connecting their aims at sabotage with the prejudices of the masters, constructed the first draft of the five year plan not only with a declining curve of the industrial rhythms but also with a declining curve of foreign trade: they provided that at the end of the next ten, twelve years, the U. S. S. R. would have completedly ceased all importation. And since, on the other hand, the same plan provided for an increasingly abundant harvest, and consequently increasing possibilities for export, a question remained unanswered: what will be done with the surplus grain as well as with the other surpluses that the country will have produced? Surely they were not to be dumped into the ocean? However, before the first draft of the five year plan was submitted, under the pressure of the Opposition, to a revision in principle, the very development of things produced fissures in the theory and practise of an isolated economy. The world market presents to the economy of every country, socialist as well as capitalist, immense and prodigiously inexhaustible **reserves.** The growth of Soviet industry creates technical and cultural needs on the one hand and new contradictions on the other. thus obliging it to resort in ever greater measure to the reserves of foreign trade. At the same time, the development of industry which is unequal because of natural conditions, engenders in various branches a pressing need for exporting (for example, oil, wood). long before industry as a whole has begun to satisfy the elementary requirements of the country. The revival of the economic life of the U. S. S. R. thus leads from all sides not to the economic isolation of the country but quite the contrary to the growth of its relations with world economy, and consequently of its dependence upon world economy. The **character** of this dependence is defined on the one hand by the specific gravity of Soviet economy within world economy, but in a more direct manner—by the relationship between the net cost of the Soviet products and the net costs of the advanced capitalist countries.

The entry of Soviet economy upon the world market has thus taken place not in accordance with the provisions of the plan, with a broad perspective, but on the contrary despite all the provisions, under the pressure of pitiless necessity, when it was shown that the import of machinery, of different matter of life and death for all the branches of industry. Imports cannot be extended except by the extension of exports.

The Soviet state exports because it cannot help but export and it sells at prices which are determined today by world economy. By that, Soviet economy not only falls to an increasing degree under the control of the world market, but more than that, it is drawn—in a refracted and altered way, it is understood—into the sphere of influence of the oscillations of the world capitalist conjuncture. The export plan for the year 1929-1930, far from being realized according to the provisions, has been considerably injured as regards financial results because of the world crisis. This is how one of the multiple discussisons between the Left Opposition and the Centrists finds its solution. Already in the struggle for the necessity of elaborating the five year plan. we advanced the idea that the five year plan is only the first stage, after which we would have to pass over in the briefest possible time to a plan with a perspective of eight or ten years, in order to embrace an average period for renewing the stock of tools, and, at the same time, to adopt ourselves to the world conjuncture. A stabilization of post-war capitalism, no matter how frail —said the representatives of the Opposition —will lead inevitably to the reappearance of the commercial-industrial cycles disturbed by the war, and we will be obliged to build our plans not upon the alleged independence from the world cojuncture, but upon the intelligent adaptation to this conjuncture, that is, in such a manner as to be able to gain as much as possible from the economic rise and to lose as little as possible from the crisis. It is futile to recall now the national-socialist commonplace which the official leaders, and Stalin and Bucharin in the first place, set up agaist these previsions which are being realized today. The less the leaders of economy foresaw the simple logic of things the more does export today assume a chaotic character.

From the brief history of Soviet foreign trade and the difficulties encountered last year by exports, always very inadequate in volume, in spite of its forced character some conclusions, simple but very important for the future, must be drawn. The greater the success of the development of Soviet economy in the future, the more extended will have to be the foreign economic relations. The contrary theorem is still more important: it is only by an ever greater extension of exports and imports that economy will be able to overcome in time the partial crises, to diminish the partial disproportions, to level the dynamic equilibrium of the various branches and in this way assure accelerated rhythms of development.

However, it is precisely here that. **in the final analysis,** we run into the decisive problems and difficulties. The possibility of making use of the reserves of the world market for the development of socialist economy is directly determined, as we have said. by the relations between the domestic and the world net costs of a unit of merchandize of a fixed, standard quality. However. the bureaucratic course of the rhythms up to now has not only not permitted us to obtain any successes in this field, but even of posing this question in its genuine aspect

In his report to the 16th Congress, Stalin said that the quality of our production is "sometimes scandalous" (it is with such explanations that the bureaucracy stuffs up every hole). This looks very much like the expression concerning our "frightful" backwardness. Instead of exact data, we are served up expressions which have the air of being very strong, but which only conceal the reality with cowardice: the backwardness — "frightful"; the quality— "scandalous". Yet, two figures, two average comparative coefficients would have given the party and the working class an incomparably more valuable orientation than all the mountains of cheap journalistic statistics, which fill the ten hour speeches of the sages of our times and which seek, in this field also, to replace quality by quantity.

The sale of Soviet products even at prices lower than the net costs is—in the interests of imports—inevitable in a certain measure and is fully justified from the point of view of general economy. But only in a certain measure. The increase of exports will encounter in the future ever greater obstacles, as a result of the difference in domestic and world net costs. Here the problem of comparative coefficients of the quality and quantity of domestic and world products is posed with a special acuteness and an obvious necessity. The fate of Soviet economy is decided **economically** in the knot of foreign trade, just as it is decided **politically**—in the knot which binds the C. P. S. U. with the Comintern

* * *

The world capitalist press has represented the growth of Soviet exports as dumping, and the mercenary bourgeoisie of the Russian emigration and its domesticated "democracy" have seized upon this catchword—and there is nothing astonishing in this, just as there is nothing astonishing in the fact that the mercenary emigrant press publishes the revelations of the national defense secrets of the U. S. S. R. in the interests of Rumania, of Poland and sharks of more substantial size. It is not their dastardliness which is astonishing, it is their stupidity which, for that matter is not surprising either: do not ask for too much intelligence from the mercenary bourgeoisie. By representing the Soviet "dumping" as a threat to world economy, the liberals and the democrats recognied by that alone that Soviet industry has attained such a degree of power that it is in a position to shake the world market. Unfortunalely. that is not the case.

It is enough to say that Soviet exports, considerably augmented in its present volume, represents only one and a half percent of world exports. With this, it is impossible to overturn capitalism, rotten though it is. It is only avowed boobies who, without ceasing to be knaves for that, can attribute to the Soviet government the intention of provoking the world revolution by one and one half percent of exports.

What are called the inroads of Soviet economy into world economy is rather, in much greater measure, the inroads of the world market into Soviet economy. This process will be extended until it becomes more and more an economic duel between two systems. In the light of this perspective, we see how infantile is the narrow philosophy according to which the construction of socialism is assured by the victory of the bourgeoisie of one's **own** country, after which the relationships with the world abroad is limited to the struggle against military interventions.

Already at the beginning of the world crisis, the Opposition proposed the launching of an international proletarian campaign for the strengthening of economic collaboration with the U. S. S. R. In spite of the fact that the crisis and unemployment made this campaign urgent, it was rejected under all sorts of inept pretexts, but in reality because the initiative for it emanated from the Opposition. At the present time, in view of the world attack against Soviet "dumping", the sections of the Comintern are nevertheless compelled to conduct the campaign we proposed before in favor of economic collaboration with the U. S. S. R. But how pitiful and eclectic is this campaign, without either clear ideas or perspectives; a campaign of disordered defense instead of a well prepared offensive. Thus, we once more see in the light of this example that behind the bureaucratic clamouring is concealed the same "chvostism", the same incapacity to take the political initiative in a single important question.

CONCLUSION

1. To acknowledge publicly that the realization of the five year plan in four years was a false step.

2. The experiences of the first two years and the inserted trimester must be the object of studies and free and cogent discussion by the party.

3. The criteria of this discussion: (a) the optimum rhythms (those which are most reasonable), that is, the rhythms which not only assure the application of the present orders, but still more, the dynamic equilibrum of the rapid growth for a series of years to come; (b) the systematic raising of real wages; (c) the closing of the scissors of industrial and agricultural prices, that is, the strengthening of the alliance with the peasantry.

4. In no case to identify the collective farms with socialism. To follow attentively the inevitable process of differentiation within the collectives, as well as between different collectives.

5. To pose openly and within the framework of the plan the problem of stabilizing the monetary system, otherwise the dangers of panic which bureaucratic deflation may engender will be just as threatening as inflation.

6. The problem of foreign trade must be posed as a cardinal problem in the perspective of the extension of relations with world economy.

7. To work out a system of comparative coefficients between Soviet production

The Trial of the Russian Mensheviks

THE REAL DISPOSITION OF THE FIGURES ON THE POLITICAL SCENE

By LEON TROTSKY

The connection of the Mensheviks with the wreckers on the one hand and with the imperialist bourgeoisie on the other, is not something unexpected. The discovery of this connection, irrefutably confirmed by the avowals of the members of the Menshevik center, has, however, a great demonstrative significance because it proves in a particularly striking manner that a policy, in spite of all the democratic abstractions with which one wants to cover it, is inevitably filled with a class content and embodies the interests of this class. One cannot go towards "pure" democracy without going towards capitalism. One cannot go towards capitalism without becoming the agent of the imperialist bourgeoisie. By its class content, the rôle of the Mensheviks in the U. S. S. R. is in no way distinguished from the rôle of the Labor party in Great Britain, of the social democrats in Germany. The form and the methods are different, the essence is the same. The struggle against the social democracy is a struggle against the democratic wing of socialism.

There is, however, in the trial of the Mensheviks a circumstance which may appear secondary at first sight or even escape our attention but which in reality clarifies in a harsh light the political disposition of the figures on the scene. All the accused are of an age varying from 45 to 56 years; only two, the youngest of them, are 39 and 41 years old. We find before us representatives of the elder generation of the Mensheviks, of the founders of Menshevism, of its theoretical and practical leaders in the first revolution, in the years of the reaction, during the war period, in the months of the February revolution and during the first years of the Bolshevik régime. Yet there is an interruption in their presence in the party which coincides with a certain period of the Soviet régime. All the 14 Mensheviks, with one possible exception, broke their connections with the Menshevik party for a number of years ranging from three to nine, and the majority of them worked in this period in Soviet institutions on the basis of the official course and not in accordance with the directions of the Menshevik center. During the period which runs from 1923-1924 and 1926-1927, almost nobody among the accused had any connections, not even formal ones, with the Menshevik party and with its center abroad. The reestablishment of the official Meshevik organization was effected on the initiative of the accused only three years ago.

WHO ARE THE MENSHEVIK DEFENDANTS?

The first figure in this trial is Groman. His contact with the Menshevik party, whose most prominent economist he was, was broken in 1922, that is, at the time when, with Lenin ill and turned away little by little from the work, the preparations were begun in the apparatus for a whispered, but intensive struggle against "Trotskyism". Groman returned to the ranks of the Mensheviks in 1926. Ginsburg, after having inspired the All-Union Council of National Economy for a number of years, returned to the ranks of the Mensheviks after an interlude of six years in 1927, just like the other pillar of the A.-U. C. N. E., Sokolovsky. The others came back in 1918, some only in 1929. "The Bureau of the Union", that is, the Central Committee of the Mensheviks in Russia, was finally constituted, according to the indictment, at the beginning of 1928. The significance of this date will stand out before us in all its clarity by quoting the following passage from the indictment: "The evolution from the positions of peace in 1924 to the positions of armed insurrection within the country and armed intervention from without is the evolution of the Menshevik social democracy during the period from 1924 to 1930."

Now all is clear. It is precisely during the years when the Stalinist bureaucracy conducted an ever more "armed" struggle against the Left Opposition that the Mensheviks disarmed, or broke finally with their party, considering that what was necessary would happen without them, or else occupied themselves with peaceful politics, with cabinet politics which also served as a foundation for their hopes in the bourgeois evolution of the Bolsheviks. **The pogrom against the Left Opposition was the preliminary condition for the conciliation of the Mensheviks with the Stalinist régime.** This is the principal fact registered drily but precisely in the indictment of February 23, 1931.

When did Stalin's course to the Left begin? On February 15, 1928, when it was for the first time decreed openly in the leader of **Pravda.** The Bureau of the Union was definitely formed, as we know, at the beginning of 1928. The political turns of both processes coincide completely. At the very moment when the Stalinist bureaucracy, out of fear of the Opposition which was submitted to pogroms but not vanquished, saw itself obliged to make an abrupt turn to the Left the Mensheviks rallied around the banner of the struggle for the overturn of the Soviet régime.

The indictment in the affair of the sabotaging specialists established on the basis of the dispositions of the accused that, during the period between 1923-1928, the essential work of the sabotaging engineers in the State Planning Commission, in the A.-U. C. N. E. and in the other directing economic centers, consisted of artificially slowing down the rhythms of industrialization and collectivization. It is precisely upon the basis of the technical and economic data of Ramzin and Osatchi on the one hand, and of Groman, of Ginsburg and of Sokolovsky on the other, that the Central Committee conducted a furious attack upon the "super-industrializers" for the defense of the pseudo-Leninist line. As to the rhythms of industrialization, the principal defendant, Ramzin, declared: **"The principal organs which decided these questions were entirely in the hands of the Industrial party."** The Mensheviks only served the industrial center abroad. In his struggle against the Opposition, Stalin was only the loud-speaker of the two parties: of the Menshevik party and of the Industrial party.

Beginning with 1928, according to the avowals of Ramzin and the others, the legal sabotage, in the form of the artificial slowing down of the rhythms of industrialization, became impossible because of the too abrupt turn of the official policy. It was at this very moment that the Menshevik "Bureau of the Union" was formed, which completed an abrupt turn in the methods of struggle of the Mensheviks against the Soviet power. The Bureau drew closer in this work to the counter-revolutionary specialists and the emigrant bourgeois.

THE TWO FUNDAMENTAL LINES

There exist only two firm and serious lines: the line of the imperialist bourgeoisie and the line of the revolutionary proletariat. Menshevism is the democratic mask of the first line. Stalinism is the Centrist deformation of the second. In the heat of the struggle against the consistent revolutionary proletarian faction, the Centrists found themselves in a bloc, not formal but all the more efficacious, with the Mensheviks; thus, unconsciously, the Centrists did what the Mensheviks did consciously, that is, they realized the tasks of the capitalist general staff abroad. Beginning with the moment when the Centrists, under the pressure of the Left Opposition, leaned abruptly to the Left—early in 1928—the Mensheviks made an abrupt turn in the spirit of an open bloc with the world bourgeoisie. That is the real and incontestable disposition of the principal figures on the political scene.

The Ramzins, the Osatchis, as well as the Mensheviks, have confessed. The question of knowing to what extent these confessions are sincere is not of great interest to us. It is, however, beyond doubt that the next trial will reveal the transgressions of the sabotagers guilty of the disordered acceleration of disproportionate rhythms in the complete collectivization, in the administrative de-kulakization; the trial will show that if the Menshevik economists, in the years 1923-1928 saw, and with reason, the path to the bourgeois degeneration of the Soviet system in the retardation of industrialization, many of them beginning with 1928, became veritable super-industrializers so as to prepare, by means of economic adventurism, the political downfall of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Illinois Miners Convention

(Continued from page 1)

sulting the miners, conducted like a putsch on a small scale, and concluded in the miserable defeat, to which its whole conception doomed it in advance; for the false, sectarian course pursued at the time of last year's miners' convention, which the N. M. U. boycotted against the urgent appeal of the Left Opposition to see that the Left wing was represented there to prevent its unchallenged domination by Fishwick, Farrington, Germer, Walker, Howat and Co. In discrediting itself—and this is worst of all—Stalinism has succeeded also in besmirching to a large extent the banner of Communism and the cause of the Left wing as a whole.

Heavily and disastrously as the past weighs upon the Left wing, it is yet possible to repair the evil done, providing that a new course is charted and helmsmen put at the wheel who know their business and are imbued with an awareness of their responsibilities in the movement. The miners who represent the best and most consistent of the Communists among the miners, Left Oppositionists and Left wing militants like Joe Angelo, Gerry Allard, John Watt, Ed Morgan and others, are fighting to reestablish the strength and prestige once enjoyed by our movement in Southern Illinois. And in the face of their activities, the Muste straddlers, running true to form, are trying to put every obstacle in the path of the real Left wing militants. "You men are too red. You'll get the movement in bad." That is how the Musteites approach the activities of the Communists whom they fear only less than they fear to arouse any fundamental conflict with the labor bureaucracy whose come-ons they are.

The active presence of the Musteites, before, during and after the St. Louis convention demands an ever increasing attentiveness on the part of the Left wing workers. The latter must be in the forefront to prevent a repetition of the black year when the "progressives" raised such vain hopes in Fishwick's diplomatic maneuver and helped him to betray the miners. Now more than ever is a correct policy the imperative need in the situation. Such a policy has been advanced by the Left Opposition. We elaborated it in our last issue, and proposed to the party and the Left wing to adopt it. In a few words it was this: the miners have begun to revolt against their treacherous leaders of yesterday; the pseudo-prorgessives are seeking to capitalize the situation; the Left wing must penetrate the movement and guide it properly, towards the end of consolidating the miners on a national scale into a powerful class struggle union, embodying the new militant forces and those grouped in and about the National Miners Union.

Torn between their dislike to adopt this course of action mainly because the Left Opposition proposed it, and the pressure which the facts of life exert, the Stalinist bureaucracy is "solving" the problem in characteristic fashion. That is, it militates against the possibility of progress by paying homage to the incoherent philosophy of "social fascism"; it yields to the compulsion of events and our criticism by borrowing from our proposals; it fuses the two incompatible standpoints and leaves a loophole open for the inevitable "self-criticism", i. e., the sport of fixing the blame for the defeat prepared by the Fosters, Bedachts and Browders upon the shoulders of the lower functionaries and the ranks.

True, such a course, or multiplicity of courses, does not add to the clarity that is so essential: it only makes confusion worse confounded and reveals the thorough bankruptcy of the Stalinist statesmen.

Confusion Instead of Policy

In the **Daily Worker** of April 14, the whole movement is dismissed as nothing more nor less than this: "We shall have in the mining industry a pure and simple social fascism."

In Illinois itself, the National Miners Union of the Illinois District, whose strength begins and ends with its post office box address, has issued a leaflet which repeats the same radically blundering policy which the official party pursued last year: to boycott the new movement, to boycott the St. Louis conference, and to substitute activity in this movement with a bare, unheeded call to the miners to join the N. M. U. "Do not send delegates to Howat's convention April 15!" it writes with double emphasis. "Organize N. M. U. locals in every mine".

Then, to raise the confusion to untouched peaks, Foster himself proceeds to lay down the laws and to select in advance the scapegoats who are destined to be "self-criticized" for the disaster. Writing in the **Daily Worker** of April 9, he goes through the obligatory ritual of denouncing "Watt, Angelo and their handful of Trotskyists working under the leadership [so!] of Muste", in order to cover up the mortifying fact that a few paragraphs later he is compelled to repudiate (not by name, of course, at least not as yet) the Illinois party members, and to borrow planks from the program of the same confounded Trotskyites (again, not by name). He continues:

"The course that the miners should take at the Illinois convention [but the N. M. U. leaflet a few days before said: Do not send delegates to Howat's convention!] is clear. First of all they should clean out Howat and his gang . . . The miners must repudiate Howat as a first essential to building a real fighting miners' union" [What union? What about the N. M. U. to which "the miners are streaming en masse"?]

"Secondly, at the convention [to which the miners should not send delegates, according to the N. M. U.] the miners should take charge of their movement [not their's, Foster; it is the movement of pure and simple social fascism] themselves. They should elect a rank and file committee to head the organization" [What organization—the N. M. U. or a new union?].

"Thirdly, the miners of the Illinois convention [again: to which the miners must send no delegates!] should then develop a united front with the National Miners Union. Such a united front, based upon the elementary demands of the miners, would lead to a real solidification of the workers' ranks and lay the basis for effective struggle."

But that is precisely what the Left Opposition proposed over a year ago at the time of the Fishwick-Lewis split! And even more to the point: that is just what we proposed weeks ago, when the revolt was at its inception and when the party deliberately ignored it, thinking to solve the need of a policy towards it by the artifice of suppressing all news of the movement in the columns of its press! Again, it must be asked of Foster and all the other Hathaways, what happens to the more "simple" demand made by the Illinois N. M. U. that the miners join their organization outright, without the bothersome united front business?

Foster concludes his article with the significant remark: "In Illinois the N. M. U. made many serious mistakes during the strike of a year and a half ago." Here the N. M. U. is not merely palmed off as a pseudonym for all the Fosters, who were primarily responsible for the disastrous blunders, just as they are today, but the ground is laid for repeating the disgraceful sport of shifting responsibility (a few months or weeks hence) for the party leaders' confusionism to the shoulders of the rank and file "in Illinois".

The Left Wing Must Act

In any case, necessary as it is, the Left wing dares not wait until the Stalinist high priests decide which of their many policies is right and who is "responsible for the wrong policy" or for the "wrong application of the right policy". It must carry on now and strike while the iron is hot. The miners of four or five of the most important coal districts are moving ahead progressively, seeking for a way out of the swamp of misery into which the Lewises, the Fishwicks, the Howats and their associates have led them in the past. The scholarly Messiahs of the Muste university are running to the head of the column to head off the militant movement, to divert it along a by-path that leads back to the reactionary swamp. The big Stalinist artists at sleight-of-hand are jerking rabbits of all colors out of the bag. They stand now on one foot, now on the other. The Left Opposition, through its militants like Joe Angelo and others, is exerting every effort to help the miners' movement find its way. It is attempting to rally again the Left wing and Communist fighters in the mine fields who once constituted such a powerful factor in the progress of the miners.

The St. Louis conference, regardless of its size at the moment, can be made a point of departure for a new epoch of advance, not only for the miners but for the American labor movement as a whole. Blunders now will porve trebly disastrous. Cowardice of self-constituted leaders, indecision, the policy of trafficking with the interests of the coal miners, is more than ever condemnable. The miners are marching, and the Left wing must march loyally with them, assisting them in every way, clearing the road for them, giving them courage and foresight, and investing their movement with vitality and resoluteness. If the advanced Left wing militants tread this road they will find themselves supported not only by those who in the past have fought with the revolutionary wing, not only by the Communist miners active in the movement today, but also by the bulk of the miners as a whole. —M. S.

INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN No. 2 OUT!

The second number of the **International Bulletin,** containing two programmatic articles by comrade Trotsky, a whole section on the development of the Communist movement in Greece and the advance of the Left Opposition in that country, important information on new developments in Bulgaria and Hungary and a highly interesting discussion article on the Belgian Opposition, is ready for sale. Every comrade should avail himself or herself of the possibility to become acquainted with the problems of the Internaltonal Opposition. Send your orders in time. Make sure everyone gets a copy.

NOTES OF A JOURNALIST

By ALFA

STALIN AND THE COMINTERN

In the course of his opposition struggle, Lominadze put into circulation one of his conversations with Stalin about the Comintern. "The C. I. in itself does not represent anything and lives only by the grace of our support." Stalin, as is the custom, denied this utterance. However, all those who know Stalin and his attitude toward the C. I. do not doubt for an instant that Lomindaze is telling the truth.

By this, we do not want to say that Stalin's words correspond to reality. On the contrary, the C. I. lives regardless of the support of Stalin. The C. I. lives by force of the ideas on which it is based, by the force of October; finally, and primarily by force of the capitalist contradictions. In the past—and in the future, let us hope—these factors have been stronger than the bureaucratic financial noose which Stalin calls support.

But the "aphorism" which we have quoted above expresses better than anything else the **real** attitude of Stalin and Co. toward the C. I. and supplements perfectly the theory of socialism in one country.

In 1925, when the kulak course of the policy, was in flower, Stalin did not at all feel ashamed to express his contempt for the C. I. and for the leaders of its different sections. When Stalin, with the consent of Zinoviev, proposed at the Political Bureau to pull Maslow out of the archives and to send him to Germany, Bucharin, who at that time was following Stalin and Zinoviev, but who was not taken into confidence about all the plots, objected: "Why Maslow? . . . You know this figure very well . . . it is impossible, etc...." To which Stalin replied: "They have all been baptized with the same holy water. There are no revolutionaries among them, in general. Maslow is no worse than the others."

During a consultation concerning a certain concession, one of the members of the Political Bureau remarked: "To grant it for forty or for fifty years—makes no difference. We must assume that up to that time the revolution will not have left any trace of the concessionaries."—"The revolution?", Stalin rejoined. "Do you think the C. I. will accomplish it? Wait: It will not bring about a revolution in 90 years." Is it necessary to recall once more the contemptuous remarks of Stalin about the "emigres", that is, about the Bolsheviks who had worked in the parties of the European proletariat.

Such was the general spirit of the Political Bureau. A haughty and contemptuous attitude toward the west-European Communists was a requirement of good form. "Do you really think that Purcell and Cook will make the revolution in England?" asked the Oppositionists. "And you perhaps think that **your** British Communists will make the revolution?", was Tomsky's retort.

The attitude toward the Communist parties of the East was still more contemptuous, if that is possible. Of the Chinese Communists only one thing was required: To keep quiet and not to disturb Tchang Kai Shek in the execution of his work.

It is not at all difficult to imagine what a savorous form this philosophy takes on in the mouth of Voroshilov who is disposed to all sorts of Chauvinism. In the sessions of the delegation of the Russian C. P. immediately before the plenum of the Executive Committee of the C. I. in 1926, Voroshilov "defended" Thaelmann with the competence that is so characteristic, almost in the following manner: "Where can they find better ones? They haven't any revolutionaries. Naturally, if we could give them our Uglanov, he would conduct their affairs in an entirely different manner. For them, Uglanov would be another Bebel". This phrase has had its history: Uglanov in the role of a Communist Bebel in Germany! At that time Viroshilov had not, apparently, foreseen that Uglanov would some day become simply a "pillar of the kulaks" and an "agent of wreckers". Besides, even at present Voroshilov himself does not doubt that the policy of 1925 was the best of all policies.

Thus we see that Lominadze has said nothing new. His testimony only bears witness to the fact that the intimate attitude of the leading summits towards the C. I. has not changed after all these years. And how could it change? The testimony of Lominadze becomes pale and absolutely superfluous in the face of the fact that the leadership of the international proletarian vanguard is at present entirely abandoned to . . . the Mauilskys, the Kuusinens and the Losovskys, that is, to the people who in the U. S. S. R. are not and cannot even be taken seriously.

No. The C. I. does not live with the support of the Stalinist bureaucracy, but regardless of it. The sooner it will liberate itself from this support, the sooner will it regenerate and raise itself to the level of its historic tasks.

WHOSE PHONOGRAPH IS THIS?

A certain S. Gorsky, an ex-Oppositionist, repented last summer. We do not deny anyone the right to repent, or to smear the repentance with tears and some such other stuff over his own face. Nor are we inclined to object to the form that this repentance takes, for the laws of esthetics (as well as those of anti-esthetics) require the form to correspond to the content. But nevertheless, it would seem to us, there are certain limits before which even debasement multiplied by lightheadedness should stop. It appears that S. Gorsky succeeded in overstepping all these limits. Of course it is not a question of "Trotsky scaring people with his impossible rhythms of industrialization", nor of the fact that Gorsky, on this subject, identifies Trotsky with Groman, Groman—with the wreckers. Here Gorsky still remains within the confines of the official ritual. It is only after he has gone through the practise of it to the very end, that Gorsky introduces a distinctly personal note into his repentance, by dragging in the Dnieprostroy affair [the hydro-electric construction on the Dnieper—Ed.] against which Trotsky fought and which Stalin rescued. Gorsky ends his article with the following words: "Those who considered the Dnieprostroy as a "phonograph", are dancing on their own political tomb. Unfortunately, to the tune of their music. I myself once danced.—S. Gorsky". **Za Industrializatziu,** No. 2544.)

What is this? It is unbelievable! One doubts one's own eyes. In 1925-1926 Trotsky was the chairman of the governmental commission of the Dnieprostroy.

For this reason, in part, and especially because at that time there still reigned in the summits of the party the idea of the "declining curve" of industrialization, **all the members of the Political Bureau were unanimously opposed to the hydro-electric station on the Dnieper.** At the plenum of the Central Committee in April 1927, in his programmatic speech on economy directed against the "super-industrialist" Trotsky, Stalin declared: "For us to construct the Dnieper station is the same thing as for a Mujik to buy a phonograph instead of a cow." The debates were stenographed and printed as all the minutes of the Plenums are—in the printing house of the Central Committee. Stalin's phrase about the phonograph created a certain sensation and was often repeated in the speeches and documents of the Opposition. This phrase ended up by becoming a by-word. But since S. Gorsky has decided to repent completely, without omitting anything, he attributes (of his own accord or under instructions from Yaroslavsky?) the economic philosophy of Stalin, including the immortal formula to . . . Trotsky.

However, what has become of it? "Those who consider the Dnieprostroy as a phonograph are dancing on their own political tomb." On their own political tomb! But, it was Stalin who considered the Dnieprostroy a phonograph. Then, who is dancing on his own tomb? Say what you will, the repentance of Gorsky sounds dubious. Is it sincere? And, in general, is this really repentance? Isn't there something back of his mind? Isn't Gorsky trying to discredit Stalin in the language of Aesop? And why does the editor, Boguchevsky, stand by and look on, Boguchevsky, who has seen things! And what about Yaroslavsky? Why doesn't he put two and two together? And, in general, what are we headed for?

WHAT IS HAPPENED IN THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY?

The **Pravda** of December 25, 1930 tells us: "In the fall of 1930, the Chinese Communist party numbered 200,000 members. The party has uprooted the remnants of the ideas of Tchen Du Hsieu and has destroyed Trotskyism ideologically (!)

"However the complicated circumstances of struggle have lately given rise to certain hesitations of a "leftist" semi-Trotskyist character inside the party. A whole series of leading workers, who believe that a revolutionary situation has matured on an international scale, have posed the question of beginning the immediate seizure of power on a full national plane, ignoring the necessity of consolidating the Soviet power in the regions already occupied by the Red Army. Proceeding from such an estimation, they consider it possible to cease the economic struggle of the proletariat and to liquidate the revolutionary unions."

These lines give an idea of the chaos that reigns in the minds of the leading functionaries of the Chinese party. They have destroyed Trotskyism "ideologically"—that goes without saying—but immediately after this destruction, hesitations of a "semi-Trotskyist nature" rise anew. Such things have happened time and again. These hesitations have arisen even among "a number of leading comrades". That has also happened ebfore.

But what do these new semi-Trotskyist hesitations consist of? They manifest themselves, first of all, in the demand "to begin immediately the struggle for power on the whole international scale". But the Left Opposition has demanded the direct opposite since the fall of 1927: to withdraw the slogan of armed insurrection as a slogan for the moment. Even today our Chinese comrades put on the order of the day, not the armed uprising, but the mass mobilization around the social demands of the proletariat and the peasantry, as well as the slogans of revolutionary democracy, not adventurist experiments in the countryside, but the building up of the trade unions and of the party! If the **Pravda** is not caluminating (which is very likely) if the new opposition really demands "to cease the economic struggle of the proletariat and to liquidate the trade unions", then this is directly opposed to the proposals of the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists).

We read further on that the new opposition "ignores the necessity of consolidating the Soviet power"; it demands, so to speak, a revolt on a national plane. Here too, there is nothing in common with the position of the Bolshevik-Leninists. If we regard the Chinese "Red Army" as the weapon of proletarian uprising, then the Chinese Communists must be guided by the general law of every revolutionary uprising. It must take the offensive, extend its territory, conquer the strategic centers of the country. Without this, every revolutionary uprising is hopeless. To mark time, to remain on the defensive instead of the offensive spells defeat for the uprising. In this sense, the new opposition, if its point of view has been correctly reproduced, is far more consequent than the Stalinites, who believe that the "Soviet power" in the countryside can be maintained for years or that the Soviet power can be transported from one end of the country to another in the baggage-train of the partisan detchments, labeled "Red Army". But neither the first point of view nor the second resemble our own. Both flow from a wrong point of departure. They renounce the class theory of Soviet power. They dissolve the revolution into provincial peasant revolts, linking up with them, in an adventurist manner, the entire fate of the Chinese C. P.

What does the latter represent? Quite unexpectedly we learn from this article that "the C. P. numbered in the fall of 1930 about 200,000 members". This figure is given without any explanation. However, last year, the Chinese C. P. numbered only about 6 to 7,000 members. If this gigantic growth of the party during the last year is an actual fact, then this should be a symptom of a radical change in the situation, in favor of the revolution. 200,000 members! If, in reality, the party were to number 50, 40, or even 20,000 workers, after it had experienced the second Chinese revolution and absorbed its lessons, we would say: This is a powerful force, and invincible; with such cadres we can remodel all of China. But we would ask at the same time, are these 20,000 workers members of the trade unions? What kind of work are they carrying on within them? Is their influence growing? Are they linking up the organizations with the mases of the unorganized and with the rural periphery? And under what slogans?

But the point is that the leadership of the C. I. is hiding something from the proletarian vanguard. We can be certain, that the lion's share of these 200,000—let us say from 90 to 95 percent.—come from regions where the detachments of the "Red Army" carry on their activity. It suffices only to hold before one's view the political psychology of the peasant detachments, and the conditions under which they carry on their activity, to have a clear political picture: the partisans, we can readily imagine, enroll almost to a man in the party, and after them, enter the peasants in the regions occupied by the Reds. The Chinese party, as well as the "Red Army" and the "Soviet power" have abandoned the proletarian rails and are heading toward rural districts and the countryside.

In seeking an issue from the impasse, the new Chinese opposition advances as we have heard, the slogan of proletarian uprising on a national plane. Evidently that would be the best issue if the prerequisites for it were to exist. But they do not exist today. What, then, can be done? We must put forward the slogans of the present interrevolutionary period, the length of which no one can gauge in advance. These are the slogans of the democratic revolution: Land to the peasants, the Eight-Hour day, the independence of China, the right of national self-determination for all peoples and finally, the Constituent Assembly. Under these slogans, the provincial peasant urpisings of the partisan detachments will break away their provincial position and be fused with the general national movement linking up their own fate with it. The C. P. will rise not as the technical aid of the Chinese peasants, but as the political guide of the working class of the entire country. There is no other road!

(Continued frim page 4)

and the production of the advanced capitalist countries, not only as a guide to the practical needs of exports and imports, but also as the only correct criterion in the question of "catching up with and outstripping."

8. To put an end to being guided in economy by the bureaucratic considerations of prestige. Not to gloss over realities, not to keep silent about the truth, not to deceive. Not to qualify as socialism the present transitional Soviet economy which, **in its level,** is much closer to czarist-bourgeois economy than to advanced capitalism.

9. To abandon the false national and international perspective of an economic development which flows inevitably from the methodology of Lenin.

10. To finish once and for all with the catholic church dogma of "general" infallibility, disastrous in practise, humiliating for a revolutionary party and profoundly stupid.

11. To revive the party by shattering the bureaucratic dictatorship of the apparatus.

12. To condemn Stalinism. To return to the theory of Marx and the revolutionary methodology of Lenin.

Revolution in Spain

(Continued from page 1)

rights to private property which may have been confiscated." But it is precisely these "rights" that must be destroyed if the proletariat is to live. The industries, the railroads and the banks must be put under the control of the proletariat; the land must be confiscated and given to the peasants; the strangulating hand of the Catholic clergy must be torn from the throats of the people; the right to national self-determination for the Catalonians and Basques must be guaranteed **in reality** and not in words; feudalism and clerical reaction and capitalist exploitation must be burned out—if the revolution is to mean the liberation of the masses and not the perpetuation of class rule. But the bourgeoisie is utterly incapable of taking these steps, which means its own destruction. The task falls to the only class capable of taking them: the revolutionary proletariat.

The bourgeoisie leads because the proletariat has as yet no leadership. The years of Stalinist reaction and incapacity have left deep scars on Spanish Communism, reducing it to impotence. It can be revived and become equal to it stasks. Here the Left Opposition has an enormous mission. That our Spanish comrades have already furnished many prisoners to the Spanish reaction attests their activity and devotion. That the bourgeois press is even now reporting the appearance in Barcelona and elsewhere of "revolutionary literature with pictures of Lenin and Trotsky" is another harbinger of coming successes. Feeble as Communism is in Spain today, it can grow with phenomenal rapidity out of a soil enriched by the revolutionary fervor of the masses. In the white heat of the revolutionary struggles that are on the order of the day, the troops of the real revolution can be tempered, hardened and fitted for the magnificent task that must be performed—which only they can perform.

The Spanish bourgeoisie is in power today only because the proletariat as a class is not yet strong and conscious enough to take power itself and hold it. Tomorrow may bring a new relationship of forces in Spain. The last word has not yet been spoken. —S-n.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The next issue of the **Militant** will contain a detailed exposition of the Left Opposition standpoint on the lessons of the recent dress strike conducted by the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union and proposals on the course which the militants in the needle trades must pursue in the best interests of the advancement of our movement. The liquidationist panic which the Lovestone Right wing is seeking to sow especially after the dress strike, and the bankruptcy of the official party leadership, make an analysis of the situation all the more necessary for the Left wing. Watch for the next issue.

N. Y. May Day Conference

Opposition Delegates Heard Despite the Stalinist Bureaucracy

The bureaucratic calm which prevails at current meetings under the mechanical control of the Stalinist faction was rudely disturbed when a representative of the Left Opposition succeeded in addressing 500 workers composed of party members and sympathizers at the United Front May Day Conference March 30, in Manhattan Lyceum, New York City. The applause that followed his remarks spread consternation in the ranks of the bureaucrats in charge of the meeting. Despite their efforts to ignore the delegation of the N. Y. branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition), its presence pervaded the entire proceedings of the conference.

The compositon of the conference was of a narrow character including only delegates from the party, its auxiliary organizations, and the enfeebled new unions. The credentials committee in its report did not of course read the names of the organizations present, for this would reveal too openly the limitedness of the "united front", but was compelled to admit, however, the absence of representation from A. F. of L. locals. This deficiency, it was said, must be overcome at the next conference to be held April 20, although no one undertook to discuss how this was to be done.

The Opposition delegates consisted of comrades Herbert Capelis, Harry Milton, and George Ray.

The conference was opened with agitational speeches by Amter and Johnstone. When these had exhausted themselves, discussion was begun from the floor. The unsuspecting chairman called upon George Ray, the second one to submit his name, to speak. Opening his remarks with an analysis of the economic crisis and presenting a perspective of a new wave of struggle for the American workers which demands the unity of the Communist forces as a prerequisite, comrade Ray said, while a perfect stillness reigned in the hall: "I represent the Communist League of America also known as the Left Opposition. Last year when we came to this conference we were forcibly ejected at the door. This year we are admitted. This is a great advance for the Communist party. But a further advance must be made so that next year the conference will see us once again inside the ranks of the party. We want nothing better than the right to fight side by side with the members of the party in the struggles of the workers. In rallying the workers for May Day we will do our part."

A wave of applause rolled through the hall upon the conclusion of his remarks. It was the instinctive response of the workers who for the moment thought that a change of policy by the party leadership had occurred. It was a demonstration of how the workers really regard the Left Opposition despite the mountains of slander and falsehood heaped upon it. It showed not a fighting nor an aggressive mood, but a deep passive sympathy which augurs ominously for the future of the present aggregation of bureaucrats imposed on the Party.

The machine immediately commenced a torrent of abuse in order to counteract the effects of comrade Ray's speech. Amter in a very emphatic manner informed the delegates that this representative would never have been permitted to speak had they known that he came from this "renegade" organization. He did not forget to denounce Leon Trotsky "an enemy of the Soviet Union". Amis, very much upset by his unpardonable blunder, parrotted Amter and duly chastised himself.

The next clash occurred during the collection when the Opposition delegation submitted to the chairman five dollars in cash and a pledge of ten dollars. Amis examined the contribution suspiciously but forearmed by experience said nothing, and passed it to his less blundering colleagues on the platform who similarly examined it with knowing looks and smiles. It was finally laid aside while speculation ran strong among the workers in the vicinity of the delegation as to whether it would be accepted or rejected. At the conclusion of the collection—Amter and Co. meanwhile having decided upon a course of action—Amis was seen holding in one hand the five dollar bill and in the other the pledge. "I want to take this matter to a vote," he proclaimed. He then launched into a fit of violent abuse and ended by rejecting the "filthy lucre", while the faithful from below joined in a chorus of shouts of approval.

When the money was returned there was a visible sign of revival of spirits in the praesidium which had been somewhat downcast since comrade Ray's speech. Broad grins now peered down upon the delegation from the platform. Amter who had been trained thoroughly in the Stalin-Pepper-Lovestone school of maneuvering could feel that he did not disgrace the tradition by this little maneuver. But the real victor was the Opposition for it had demonstrated its readiness and willingness to assist in every way the May Day preparations, and that sank deeper than all the circus contortions of the Amters and the Amises.

The credentials committee report did not mention a word about the delegation from the Communist League of America (Opposition). A Stalinist supporter in the conference who does not understand that his faction is infinitely stronger in silence and violence than in argument demanded to know why nothing was said, and proposed a motion to exclude the Trotskyites from the conference. From the platform it was lamely stated that this delegation was not recognized. Discussion of course was not permitted, and comrades of the Opposition attempting to get the floor were shouted down and threatened.

The hollow general discussion then continued. It appeared that from this point on the bureaucratic tranquillity would proceed undisturbed, when George Marks, a member of the City Executive Committee of the Unemployed Councils, and a very active member of the Downtown Council, well known for his hard and persistent work, took the floor. He spoke of the activities of the Downtown Unemployed Council and its preparations for May Day. Addressing himself to the leading active members of the Councils he asked whether they who had worked side by side with him, who had spoken from the same platforms with him, who had helped organize together with him, believed that he too should be excluded from the conference. "For", said comrade Marks, "I carry a badge of honor and distinction. I am a member of the Left Opposition." This announcement stunned the bureaucrats. The Stalinists immediately emitted some boos to drown the effect that this announcement made. The workers under the weight of the avalanche of slander remained silent but the impression it made on them was unmistakable. The Opposition scored again for it had demonstrated by deeds its readiness to work side by side with party members in the struggle if permitted.

The chair, in obvious embarrassment, tried to proceed with the meeting, ignoring the incident. He naturally had nothing to say. In adjourning the conference Amis "warned" against provocation. He warned against getting into fist fights and against discussion (especially discussion!). He knows, the democratic Amis continued, that there are many workers who are just boiling to jump at the throats of these renegades, but we must exercise workers' self-control!

The Left Opposition despite its exclusion will not be deterred by the Stalinist bureaucrats from doing its Communist duty for May Day. It will issue leaflets and hold meetings rallying the workers to demonstrate on May Day under the banner of Communism.

* * *

On Thursday April 2, the Stalinists began their campaign to eliminate comrade George Marks from the Unemployed Councils. He was removed from the City Executive Committee, as the first step toward expulsion. When the question came before the Downtown Council, one of whose representatives Marks is to the City Executive, it was stated that this act was being taken on the orders of Johnstone. It was explained that while the Unemployed Council was not the Communist party no one who opposed the policies of the Communist party could be in leadership of the Councils! 18 voted for the removal (all party members under discipline of course) while the rest, 41 discouraged and bewildered workers abstained.

Thus the Stalinist bureaucrats drive the best workers out of the Left wing organizations and condemn then to sterility and decay. Only subservient Stalinists and docile incompetents with no ideas or independence of character are wanted by these bureaucrats. Stalinist infallibility must emerge triumphant even if it has to be on the ruins and wreckage of the Communist and Left wing movement.—R.

Hungarians Struggle against Corruption

In a previous issue of the **Militant** we acquainted our readers with the situation in the Hungarian Sick Benefit and Educational Federation, the only mass organization of Hungarian workers under party control. We mentioned some of the charges of corruption, mismanagement and misuse of funds raised against the party leaders by committees of investigation representing several branches of the organization. The leading elements of these comittees until recently were party members and close sympathizers. The opposition took the correct position that because of the corruption of the party leaders the organization should not become antagonistic to the party and should not withdraw its support from the party and its auxiliary organizations. The fight of the opposition is not for severing connections with the party but for the elimination of the corrupt leaders (most of whom are petty bourgeois careerists) replacing them with rank and file party members. We can find no fault with its demand for workers' democracy in the organization or with the demand for ideological control instead of mechanical control. But the opposition certainly made a mistake when it failed to safeguard itself against the possibility of being identified with anti-Communist elements which try to attach themselves to, or make a united front with, all bona fide opposition within the Communist movement. An opposition failing to repudiate such elements will be discredited by them. An opposition, fighting for the regeneration of the Communist movement, at the same time must carry on a vigorous, relentless fight against all anti-Communist elements. Otherwise it runs the danger of degenerating into a rallying center for the enemies of Communism.

A Wrong Point of Departure

A very serious shortcoming of this new opposition in the Hungarian language movement of the party is its wrong point of departure. It looks upon the situation in the Hungarian Bureau as a local, isolated phenomenon and it draws the wrong conclusion that it can be remedied by an isolated local action. It does not see that bureaucratic corruption, the contempt of leadership for the workers, the practise of mechanical control, petty bourgeois careerism, lack of democracy in the party and in the organizations under party control are not exceptional phenomena limited to the Hungarian Bureau or to the American section of the Communist International. It is the same story throughout the whole International, finding its source in what we call Stalinism. The main feature of Stalinism, as a party régime, is a bureaucratic apparatus, independent of the party, not responsible to the party, introducing the system of appointment of party functionaries in place of elections, depriving the membership of the right of criticism, the expression of any disagreement. The Hungarian Bureau is part and parcel of the bureaucratic apparatus built by Stalin in every party of the Comintern. Since organizational questions are closely related to questions of principles, policies and tactics, it would be absurd to suppose that the creation of such an organizational apparatus is due to the will of any one man. No, it is the result of the pressure on the party by classes hostile to the proletariat. It seems to us that such questions are disregarded by the opposition in the Hungarian movement. That is the reason why it has no political basis, why it has no political perspective and why it failed to align itself with the International Left Opposition. Under such circumstances its struggle is futile.

More Examples of Running Amuck

In my previous article it was mentioned that the I. W. W. has made an attempt to use this opportunity for an attack upon Communism. It sent an organizer on a national tour to tell the Hungarian workers that because members of the Hungarian Bureau are accused of corruption, the Marxian theories are all wrong and the workers should embrace syndicalism. The party leaders met this attack in typical Stalinist fashion. It was explained in the **Uj Elore** that the I. W. W. are a bunch of counter-revolutionary fascists, who are in league with the social fascists, who, in turn, are the agents of the fascist. Therefore the I. W. W. meetings should be broken up. The I. W. W. organizer went as far as Detroit, holding meetings in Buffalo, Cleveland and other cities, without any of his meetings being disrupted. After the Cleveland meeting, which was held in the party-controlled Workers' Home, the **Uj Elore** published the news that the Cleveland meeting of the I. W. W. was captured by the party, the I. W. W. organizer was beaten up and this example must be followed everywhere. "Make the I. W. W.s swallow their teeth", said **Uj Elore.** Nothing of the sort happened in Cleveland, but the party leaders in Detroit took the word of **Uj Elore** and organized an attack on the I. W. W. meeting. Unfortunately for them, the I. W. W. members also read the Uj Elore. Therefore they were well prepared, with the result that when the attack came they gave the party members a terrific beating. The same thing happened in Chicago. The last meeting was held in New York. Here the Bureau members organized the attack. They were beaten up severely The report in the **Daily Worker** said that the party had no intention of beating up the I. W. W. But it failed to explain the peaceful intention of the call in **Uj Elore** to "make the I. W. W.s to swallow their teeth."—Y. S.

Communist Tasks in the Workmens Circle

There can be no doubt in the mind of any class-conscious worker who not only has transferred—because of sentimental reasons—his loyalty from the S. P. or any other political organization, to the Communist movement. but has also done some studying and thinking and has learned something from the leaders of the revolution that the splitting of the existing workers' fraternal organizations was not only a blunder but a crime. No doubt if Lenin were alive. he would have repeated his words:

"A greater lack of sense and more harm to the revolution than this attitude of the 'Left' revolutionists cannot be imagined."

Yes. I will repeat. More harm to the revolution than this attitude of the "third period" leadership cannot be imagined. The danger to the movement is almost irreparable. Imagine the loss of contact with tens of thousands of workers, the majority of whom are a potential element for the revolutionary movement. The loss of prestige even among our followers in the W. C. and the I. W. C. of 20,000 and out of these only between five and six thousand have left. What happened to the rest? Most of them have become apathetic and a great number have fallen under the influence of the S. P. leadership.

This is the situation created by circumstances over which we have no control and Communists should not limit themselves to the evaluation of the subjective conditions but also consider the steps to follow this diagnosis.

First, we are faced with an accomplished fact. A new fraternal order was organied. What should be our attitude? In my opinion, our attitude should be the same as to any other fraternal organization where workers predominate, allowing—as in the case of the more radical unions—for a different attitude in certain situations that may arise.

Then what fraternal organization shall a Communist join? A class conscious worker should join the fraternal organization where the working class elements are more backward and that gives him a basis for more useful work for the revolutionary cause.

Then you advise me to join the W. C. or the I. W. C. in preference to the I. W. O.? Don't you think that by joining it we help to support the counter-revolutionary elements that control the organization?

So you are helping the capitalist class by working for it; so, also you are helping by joining a union; by paying rent; by going to a movie show; by buying your food. The whole life of a worker is nothing else but service to the "community"—that means service to the ruling class. His strongest weapons are organization and revolutionary consciousness—and this can only be attained by the most class conscious workers participating in the daily struggle of the working class, through the various organizations. Therefore, the questionv should be asked, when joining, where can I be of the most use to the movement?

Why not unite with the Right wing (Lovestoneites) in the W. C. and the I. W. C.?

Our purposes are far apart. As opportunists they are always looking for immediate results and always overlook the revolutionary perspectives, especially now. They are losing their fast dissipating ranks in two directions: to the Right, like B. Miller, Benjamin, etc.; and on the other side, joining the party. They are anxious for allies. The only trouble is that the army is so small that nobody pays any attention to them, as the socalled opposition in the W. C., the Left wing in the S. P.

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Defend the Philly Militants!

Several weeks have elapsed since the arrest of comrades Goodman and Morgenstern of the Philadelphia branch of the Communist League, under the notorious Flynn Sedition law of the state of Pennsylvania. It will be remembered that the two comrades were arrested for distributing the leaflet on unemployment issued by the National Comittee of the League, calling for a solid united front of workers and jobless around the slogans of the six-hour day without reduction in pay, unemployment insurance paid by the bosses and administered by the workers and—the demand that the government extend long term credits to the Soviet Union, as a concrete step toward creating jobs for thousands of unemployed. The International Labor Defense from the first showed great reluctance in giving any aid to the two Left Oppositionists. It was only after a few pressing inquiries from impartial rank and filers that the I. L. D. bureaucrats began to take the affair seriously, pussyfooting all the time without taking a definite stand and refusing to consider the case together with those of the other class war prisoners.

Recently two local branches of the I. L. D. have sent in demands for information on the case to the national office of the defense organization. A member of the National Committee of the International Labor Defense, comrade Gerry Allard of Illinois, has also protested against the shameful discrimination shown against our comrades.

In reply to these inquiries and protests, the officials of the organization give the lame excuse that the case was "handled apart from the I. L. D" and that "the I L D....as a class struggle organization, does not enter into any compromises [!] with any other organization". This is both falsehood and rot. Comrades Morgenstern and Goodman themselves went up to Ross, the local organizer of the I. L. D. and presented their case to him. Furthermore, at the anti-Sedition conference called by the I. L. D. on March 1, our comrade Whitten presented the case openly and fully, under a barrage of abuse from the bureaucrats, led by Engdahl, who were conducting the meeting. These are the facts. The I. L. D. for its part, although it promised to take up the defense of the two Opposition fighters, has failed to make any serious attempt in this direction. From our comrades we learn that under pressure from the workers in the ranks of the organization, they have finally agreed to handle the legal side of the matter. A more outrageous, a more cowardly evasion of elementary revolutionary duty has seldom been witnessed.

The International Labor Defense was built on a class struggle basis. It is its task to defend workers as soldiers in the class struggle. To pretend that the I. L. D. bureaucrats are carrying out their duty by offering a lawyer to represent the workers involved within the confines of capitalist law, is to be betray the very principles on which it was built.

The Left Opposition will not look on passively. It will demand that the case of Goodman and Morgenstern be brought to the attention of the broad masses of the American workers together with those of the other Communists under indictment by the capitalist courts. It will demand the right of Left Oppositionists to be defended as class fighters, who need not alone strictly legal protection in the confines of the bosses' courts, but the mass support of the revolutionary workers in transforming their case, together with that of Lawrence, Ryder, Lynn and the other Communists struck by class justice, into a large defense movement to arouse the workers of this country against the designs of the boss government to drive the revolutionary labor movement underground. The fight of Pelz, Lawrence, Lynn, Ryder, Goodman and Morgenstern to present the views of militant Communism before the oppressed and exploited toilers of America must take the form of a broad united front of all workers' organizations standing on the standpoint of the class struggle. It must rally as one solid, fighting proletarian phalanx large masses of American workers to prevent the capitalists from drawing the noose tighter about their necks and to go over to the victorious offensive against them. To transfuse the factional struggle that has its proper place in the internal struggle of the party, into an organization that occupies itself with the class defense of all workers hit by boss rule is to drive a wedge into the fighting front against capitalism. It must not be tolerated. And it will not be. Despite the bureaucrats, the class struggle united front of the workers, in defense of all their vanguard fighters will be achieved.

Communist workers! Demand the class defense of Goodman and Morgentsern from the Stalinist officials of the I L D! Help shape a firm front of all militant workers against the attempt of the goevrnment to railroad Lawrence, Ryder, Goodman, Morgenstern and the other class fighters!

The position of a Communist should be to propagate the ideas of Communism and not hide them. To win over the masses and not united fronts purely for the sake of united fronts, by applying correct Leninist tactics.

Resume:

1. The split in the fraternal organization was a blunder and has done great damage to the revolutionary movement.

2. The attitude to the I. W. O. is the same as to the other fraternal organizations, allowing a more liberal attitude in certain cases, because of a more radical composition of the membership.

3. Class conscious workers when joining a fraternal organization should give preference to those where the membership is more backward and thereby be of greater service to the movement.

4. A relentless struggle against the opportunist Right wing (Lovestoneites) and liquidators of the Communist movement.

I am sending this statement to the **Militant** because, after reading the appeal to the Red Needle Trades Workers and the appeal on Unemployment, I have come to the conclusion that only the Communist Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) has given a correct Marxian evaluation of the objective conditions and followed it up with Leninist tactics. Only people fired by a revolutionary zeal, armed with the knowledge of Marxism and Leninist tactics, directed by the co-worker of Lenin and the theoretician and leader of the revolutionary movement, Leon Trotsky, can produce such a wonderful periodical as the **Militant**, which is a source of knowledge for thinking Communists.

I hope this statement will serve as a basis for a discussion on this important problem and that you will give due consideration to it, the result of which I hope, will be a thesis on the work in fraternal organizations which will serve as a guide to every revolutionary worker. Neither the Centrist leadership of the party nor the Right wing liquidators can give the proper solution for the problem confronting the revolutionary workers. —J. B.

- Organization Notes -

THE SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE

The subscription drive has not yet gained its full momentum, though this week's report shows a great improvement. It is important to bear in mind the approaching inactivity of the summer months, and to double our efforts in behalf of this campaign.

That the getting of subscriptions for **The Militant** is not a difficult task, has been proven by comrade Goldberg of St. Louis. He sent in 14 subscriptions at one time. What can be done in St. Louis by one member, can surely be duplicated by the larger branches. But we regret to report that the larger branches are falling far behind. Chicago comes next. This branch secured 7 new subscriptions since the last report, while New York got only 2. Minneapolis, as always, is working hard. They have 5 new subs. to their credit.

The total in favor of the drive is 60 new subscriptions and renewals.

The branches must get seriously busy. Every member should become a subscriber or get one new subscriber. The list of expirations should be visited by our members. The New York branch must wake up.

ORGANIZATION PROGRAM

Organization progress can again be reported from most of our branches. New members have been admitted in Minneapolis, Philadelphia and New York during the last two weeks. From the appearance of orders filled at our headquarters, the branches in Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago and Minneapolis have been particularly active in literature distribution; the orders filled for the last two mentioned have run into several hundred pamphlets for each.

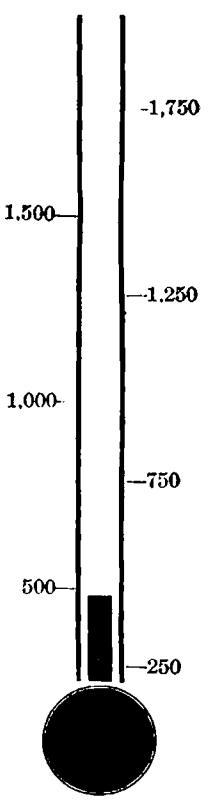
In the Illinois mine fields our comrades have taken up active work trying to apply our policy and build the Left wing forces in the present new union movement. With assistance given from the center it became possible to have a couple of our comrades, who are coal miners tour the state. In addition Comrade Oehler is also making a tour. This work was made possible only through a special effort on the part of several of our branches, New York alone contributing $90.00 for this purpose.

In Minneapolis the labor movement is witnessing quite some unprecedented police persecution. All Communist meetings and demonstrations have been ruthlessly broken up. Our branch, however, has succeeded in taking up leadership toward more active worker resistance. It has raised the issue of right of free speech, carried it to the trade unions, and has succeeded in getting several locals on record to fight back in an effective manner. Our members are even being charged by the Stalinites with the "unforgivable crime" of busting into workers united front conference:—in this case one organized by the I. L. D. Unfortunately the Stalinites are failing even to give proper support or to endeavor to maintain mass contacts.

The Kansas City branch has adopted an ambitious program to be carried out by May 1st. It includes securing renewals from every present **Militant** reader, securing five new yearly subscriptions, increase the bundle sales from 20 copies to 50 and collecting for the Expansion Program $125.00. It is already in the course of fulfillment: the bundle order has been increased, the subs. are coming in and we have received for the Expansion Program so far $50.00 (reported in previous issue)

The total receipts for the Program of Expansion were:

A Friend (N. Y. C.)	25.00
A Shoeworker (N. Y. C.)	1.00
Al Glotzer (N. Y. C.)	5.00
Geo. Saul (N. Y C.)	1.75
T. Boisnert Los Angeles	10.00
Minneapolis branch	60.00
New Haven branch	5.00
Chicago branch	11.00
	118.75
Previously reported	346.00
Total to date	$464.75



THE LAST N. Y. OPEN FORUM

April 25: DIALECTIC MATERIALISM

By Arne Swabeck

at the

LABOR TEMPLE

14th Street and Second Avenue
Open at 8 P. M.

Admission: 25c

Auspices: New York branch, Communist League of America (Opposition).

Clem Forsen, St. Paul TUUL Head, Expelled

Following the presentation of a statement to the membership of the Communist Party in the Mineapolis district, comrade Clem Forsen, organizer of the Trade Union Unity League in St. Paul, and active party worker for years, was expelled by the party bureaucrats for his solidarity with the statement, which reviews concisely the statement, which reviews conscisely the position and development of the party and the Comintern for the past period, comrade Forsen wrote in part:

"I am especially appealing to all members whom I have worked with in the past years and mith whom I have struggled for the correction of gross evils and conduct, carried on by a narrow and impudent bureaucracy, to take an accounting of past events in the party and the revolutionary movement in the past years, then to take up a study of the platform and program of the Left Opposition, thus learning the correct answers to the many questions that constantly arise in our work in the party, which all the propaganda of the official party does not answer. The party must come first. Every revolutionary worker must have the greatest concern for his party. Without a correct party program and policy, our class shall be led to defeat after defeat, and the punishment for its defeats shall fall heaviest upon our party. No worker Party member should allow himself to be provoked by conditions in the party to quit the party and drift into a state of inactivity and apathy towards the class struggle . . .

"Lack of success due to incorrect policy leads the bureaucracy to make arbitrary demands for results upon the lower functionaries. The membership carries the burden of failures from policy. The mass organizations do not grow. Extensive apparatus is set up, the masses expected to fill the ranks do not respond. The party members must fill the ranks and do the work. Over-organization, over-work of the activists follow. Chronic organizational crises in all parties exist. New members lay down and quit. Old members answer stringest demands with evasions, bluffs that years of faction struggle have taught them. The results are that there is apathy and dullness in the life of the units. There are chronic outbursts of disgust and anger, petty intrigues and other corruption. Lack of serious political discussion and work confronts every party member. The party officials cover the real causes of the organizational situation in the party with floods of talk on organizational weaknesses thus directing the attention of the members away from policies.

"Bureaucracy is talked about and fought with the most disgusting insincerity. The small functionary who apes the large and learns from him is made the example. New and queer kinds of 'bureaucrats' are uncovered. Criticism on fundamentals is suppressed, it is substituted with a counterfeit 'self-criticism' . . .

"Demand the return of Trotsky to the Soviet Union and his readmission into the party of the proletariat, as well as the en- the Left Opposition which is now banished to prison camps in the far parts of the Soviet Union. Demand the stop of vicious slander and suppression of the Left Opposition in America as well as throughout the world. Join the Communist League (Opposition), the harbinger of victory for the proletariat. Demand the return to the policies of Lenin for our party. The International Left Opposition is the hope of the proletariat."

Comrade Forsen's statement and the arbitrary action of the party apparatus which, in Minneapolis, has already expelled the best Communist workers, has created considerable interest and discussion in the party's ranks. The open adherence of comrade Forsen to the Left Opposition cannot but have an excellent effect in clarifying the dispute in the Communist movement and strengthening the influence of the Opposition. In the Twin Cities, the branch of the Communist League is forging ahead, gaining in membership and prestige, in spite of the obstacles put in our path by the party bureaucrats on the one hand, and the A. F. of L. labor skates, plus police repressions, on the other.

The action of comrade Forsen is a welcome sign, and only one of the many indications of the ferment that cannot be entirely suppressed by the artificial bureaucratic calm with which the apparatus stifles all thought in the party. The Opposition is determined to win to its banner the best Communist workers in the party. We are fighting to purge our party of that trinity of evils—bureaucratism, opportunism and adventurism—which has dominated it so disastrously for years. With the aid of the revolutionary militants in the party who disobey the Stalinist command not to think, we shall triumph in our fight.

TROTSKY
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A thorough and timely analysis of the present situation in Spain, the causes for the Republican movement, and prospects for the working class victory

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84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

Slogan of the 6-Hour Day

DISCUSSION ARTICLE

In the class struggle in general and particularly in the U. S. A. the major part of the activity of a revolutionary political party should be on the field of direct economic struggle; in the factory, work shop or in the union every opportunity being seized upon to arouse the fighting spirit of the working class, to develop its class consciousness and endeavor to lead the working class toward political struggle. But the present unemployment situation presents a particular phase of the class struggle. Moreover the present unemployment situation has its own peculiarities, coming as it does after a long period of unheard of prosperity (eight years almost, if minor fluctuations are disregarded). Second, while the U. S. A. might temporarily solve its crisis to a certain extent, considering the present world conditions one cannot by the widest stretch of imagination anticipate another eight years of prosperity (such as those preceding the present crisis) in the near future. Allowing for temporary upward swings, it must be noted that the standing permanent army of unemployed has been increased. In other words, the number of jobless even in a new period of prosperity will be greater than previously. Also the cyclical crises will be more frequent with every reason to expect them to become greater in severity. Such are the present conditions of the unemployment situation which have injected the question of unemployment into the arena of the class struggle in the sharpest form. The capitalist class endeavors by use of every conceivable method, governmental, economic, etc., to place the entire burden upon the working class. The working class, even sometimes against its will, is compelled to resist in self-defense and sometimes to take the offensive. Thus the whole question of unemployment, regardless of whether or not the working class is class conscious enough to realize it or not, is elevated to the position of a political struggle.

Though the Communist movement, considering its program of action, places the emphasis on the direct economic struggle, in considering the question of unemployment it must be dealt with as a particular phase of the class struggle. The struggle for working class relief is carried on from two angles or avenues. But each is incomplete without the other. The purpose of both is to place the burden of unemployment upon the backs of the capitalist class and thus strengthen the hand of the working class and at the same time weaken the capitalist class. Also to make it possible to unite the unemployed workers with the employed this further strengthening the working class and weakening the capitalist class.

The two phases of the struggle for relief are of course (1) the fight for social insurance and (2) the struggle for the shorter working week with no reduction of pay. In considering the question of unemployment as a special problem of the class struggle these two avenues of struggle are very nearly on the same footing. But speaking from the **general angle** of the unemployed struggle, the emphasis must be placed on the fight for social insurance for several reasons which will be briefly set forth here. From this it follows that the treatment in comrade Swabeck's article is inadequate. From a general standpoint the placing of the emphasis on the slogan of the six hour day as in the 17th paragraph of the article of February 1 is wrong. Also the slogan itself should be "The shorter working week with no reduction in pay" instead of the "six hour day" slogan.

As to the importance of social insurance from the general standpoint of the unemployment problem, there is and will remain a standing army of unemployed, with no means of support. Capitalism makes no provision for these unless forced to do so. That is the horrible feature of capitalism which arises from the very nature of capitalist production. The law of surplus value casts up and constantly augments this army. The capitalist class seeking to maintain its super-profits, seeks to use this standing army of unemployed against the employed workers. Social insurance while not offering **complete and permanent** relief under capitalism places the **chief stumbling block** in the path of the designs of the capitalist class. This is **the most important explanation of their hostility toward it.** Not a small proportion of the ravings of the English bourgeoisie against the dole system comes from their difficulty to get blacklegs for strikebreaking purposes which makes it difficullt to lower wages in order to compete in the world arena of capitalism. The amount of dollars or pounds paid out for the dole is by far not their chief worry. They would gladly pay out twice that amount any time for complete domination over the wages of the working class. All the history of the class struggle under capitalism proves this. In America such strikes as the shopmen's strike of 1922, where the Railroads spent money like water to defeat the shop men, are good examples.

Secondly, social insurance and the fight for it offers the **chief instrument** by which the unemployed and the employed workers can be united. **If they cannot be united on this basis they cannot be united at all.**

Third: granted that the six hour day could be obtained at once (which it cannot) even at this time it cannot be proved that this would provide jobs for all the jobless and even if it would it would be only a question of a very short period before the situation would be the same as at present, due to rationalization, new machinery and the law of surplus value. Thus social insurance offers the most permanent form of relief (even though it is not complete in itself) and places the biggest stumbling block in the path of the capitalist class. Also at some point the social reformers are compelled to attempt to lower or abolish social insurance just as at the present moment in England. This is an important point in their exposure.

All of the above does not prevent the revolutionary party from shifting the main part of its efforts to obtaining the shorter working week when objective conditions are such as to make the greatest gains possible on this field of struggle. But since the question of unemployed relief or that part of it we choose to call "social insurance" is of very great importance for all time and particularly at this time when because of the sharpness of the projection of the unemployed problem before the working class and because of the continued large number of unemployed we cannot **be hasty** in shifting the major part of our efforts over to the struggle for a shorter working week. Also it must be answered from a **general standpoint** that the emphasis remains on the struggle for social insurance when considering the question of unemployment as a special phase of the class struggle. And finally, **just as the proper tactics in the struggle for unemployed insurance should be conducted in such a way as to prepare the ground for the struggle for the shorter working week during the upward curve, so must the struggle for the shorter working week be conducted in such a way as to prepare the ground for the further advancement of the struggle for social insurance when that struggle again becomes the order of the day.**

That the struggle for social insurance presents greater dangers of opportunist deviations goes without saying. The history of the party's efforts in that direction proves this conclusively. All of the criticism of the manner in which that struggle has been conducted by the party appearing in the **Militant** and that contained in comrade Swabeck's article was correct and of positive value. But if it is true that the fight for the immediate demand of social insurance, which is in its very essence a political struggle, offers more danger of opportunist deviations than a struggle that is approached from a direct economic industrial base, **it is also true that danger is greater in any struggle that is political from its very beginning.** Moreover it is also true that the struggle that begins from a direct economic industrial base meets with this same danger **the moment it reaches the stage where it is elevated to a political level.**

It has been emphasized numerous times that all along the line we must constantly stress and point out to the wroking class that no permanent relief from capitalism's chief contradictions can be expected or had under capitalism. Nothing said above in connection with social insurance contradicts this in the least. **The manner in which the struggle is conducted** is the all important question.

--JOHN MIHELIC.

(To Be Continued)

The I. W. W. and the Unemployment Problem

At the beginning of the present crisis, the I. W. W. saw no need of spending much energy upon the unemployment problem. Now, having obtained a late start, they are presenting as their main slogans: "The six-hour day and five-day week" and "Bread lines or picket lines?". Leaflets, stickers and meetings are being pushed everywhere in the country that they can rally forces. While their program has a certain positive side, it is far exceeded by its negative features, which we point out not for the sake of abstract criticism alone but because they are so characteristic of the sectarian futility to which the once vigorous organization has been condemned.

In their reaction against purely parliamentary activity—as against revolutionary political action which the Stalinist bureaucrats have understood so poorly—the I. W. W. have swung in the opposite direction and are narrowing the possibilities for development by the lack of a correct analysis and program. Their poverty in Marxism, to which they acknowledge a formal adherence at times, is shown by their explanation of the cause of unemployment. In one leaflet they say: "Unemployment is caused by long hours and short wages." In another, they say that culminative (organic or permanent) unemployment has been added because of "the industrialization of the backward countries and the increased productivity of labor chiefly through automatic machines". Increased productivity and automatic machinery have undoutbedly played a big part in the increase of unemployment, but the socalled industrialization of the backward countries—a flashback in the I. W. W. of the notorious "de-colonization" theory—does not reflect realities. On the one hand, imperialism gives an impetus to the development of industry in the colonial countries; on the other, it strives to keep these countries in subjection and backwardness. This contradiction is one of the great sources of colonial revolution and the need for supporting them which the I. W. W. fails to acknowledge.

But even the development of the backward countries is still not the determining cause of unemployment. The latter is produced by the whole system of productive relationships under capitalism, and the crises which accompany it are intensified by the fact that capitalist production has become so intertwined on a world market that over-production constantly threatens its equilibrium, produces crises, and mass unemployment.

Even if we were to obtain shorter hours and bigger pay from the capitalists we would not have eliminated unemploiyment. One leaflet says: "Unemployment can be cured by small hours and big pay." The only cure for unemployment is the overthrow of the capitalist system.

The way the official party is fighting for unemployment insurance must be criticized as a mixture of parliamentary opportunism and adventurism. But to swing to the other extreme and say that a fight for unemployment insurance is wrong is equally false. By leaving this field to the reformists, opportunists and labor fakers, we allow them to corrall large masses of workers by having them appear as the only defenders of their immediate interests and needs.

In the leaflet: "Bread lines or picket lines?", we read: "Such is our program to abolish unemployment and such are its consequences." The I. W. W. once knew that unemployment could only be abolished by the proletarian revolution: apparently it no longer knows this elementary truth. As for a program, picket lines do not constitute one. They are the tactics to carry out a program. A correct one must resolve around the slogan for the six-hour day and five-day week without wage reductions.

Organizationally, the I. W. W. have out-Stalinized the Stalinists by organizing an "Unemployed Workers Industrial Union" (!) with membership cards. The party formed unemployment councils and tied them to the T. U. U. L., determining in advance a narrow basis for the unemployed movement which must be made up of workers with varying ideologies who will follow revolutionary leadership only on the basis of the most elementary issue. By seeking to confine the unemploiyment movement—and in the form of a **union,** at that—strictly as a tail to the sect which the I. W. W. is today, to reject in practise the need of the united front, is to commit, on a smaller scale, the same blunder as the official party leadership.

—HUGO OEHLER.

A Step Forward

From reliable sources we learn:

At the last meeting of the New York party fraction of workers in the fur industry, one of the comrades proposed that the policy be adopted to send some for workers still under the influence of the Left wing into the Right wing international. This proposal was motivated by the following facts: The Left wing union (N. T. W. I. U.) no longer has anything but a purely nominal influence in the fur trade —so far as organizational control is concerned, at the very least. It has only three to five shops under contract. The Right wing union (Kaufman and Co.) has succeeded in re-establishing its control over a large part of the trade. It is not true that the Right wing union is a "company union"; it is a class collaboration union with reactionary leadership and policies. It is the duty of the Left wing to send those few workers still under its control into the Right wing union to help build up a Left wing opposition to Kaufmanism, instead of continuing to deceive itself with the baseless idea that it still has any direct control in the fur trade.

This proposal, after some discussion, was adopted by the fraction **unanimously.**

The Left Opposition, which advanced this proposal some time ago, can only greet its adoption by the party fraction as a step forward in the proper direction. It indicates that our point of view, despite the slanders of the party bureaucrats, has not fallen on deaf ears and is being seriously considered by the party comrades who study the relationship of forces objectively and not through bureaucratic spectacles.

It is characteristic that upon learning of the decision, Stachel, one of the recent additions to the staff of trade union "specialists" in the party, informed the comrades of the fraction that their proposal was not acceptable, at least not completely. To straighten out the matter so that the "line" may retain its halo of infallibility, the fraction is to meet soon with Foster, Browder and Stachel. We hope the comrades of the fraction will stand their ground firmly and not be frightened away from it by accusations of "Trotskyism" or the like. Their position is entirely correct, and the comrades in the other needle trades fractions would do well to follow suit in adopting the course recommended for the Left wing in the needle trades by the Left Opposition.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUG. 24, 1912.

Of The Militant, published twice a month at New York, N. Y. for April 15, 1931.

State of New York:
County of New York.

Before me, a Notary in and for the State and county aforesaid personally appeared Max Shachtman, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of the Militant and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are:

Publisher: Communist League of America (Opposition) 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

Editor: None.

Managing Editor: Max Shachtman, 84 East 10th St., N. Y.

Business Manager: Rose Karsner, 84 East 10th St., New York City.

2. That the owner is: Communist League of America (Opposition), 84 East 10th St., N. Y. C. Martin Abern, 84 East 10th St., N. Y. C. J. P. Cannon, 84 East 10th St., N. Y .C. Max Shachtman, 84 East 10th St., N. Y. C. Maurice Spector, 84 East 10th St., N. Y. C. Arne Swabeck, 84 East 10th St., N. Y. C.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owing or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other secturies are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stock-holders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and securit yholders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given: also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stocks and securities; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirects in the said stock, bonds, or other secturies than as so stated by him.

Max Shachtman, Managing Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of March 1931.

Geo. Lorch, Notary Public.

(My Commission expires March 30, 1931.)